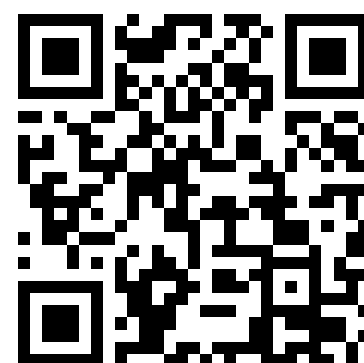

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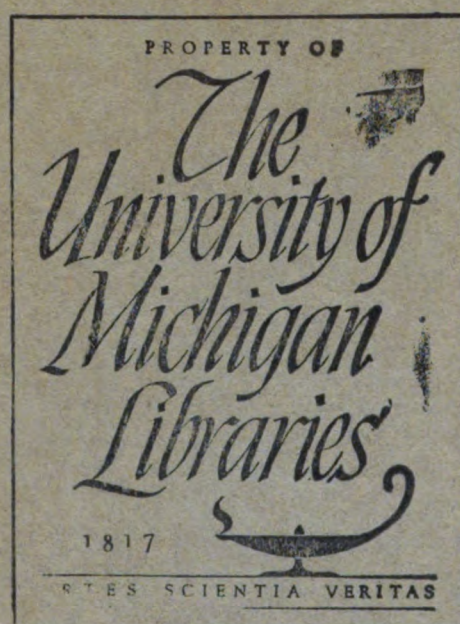
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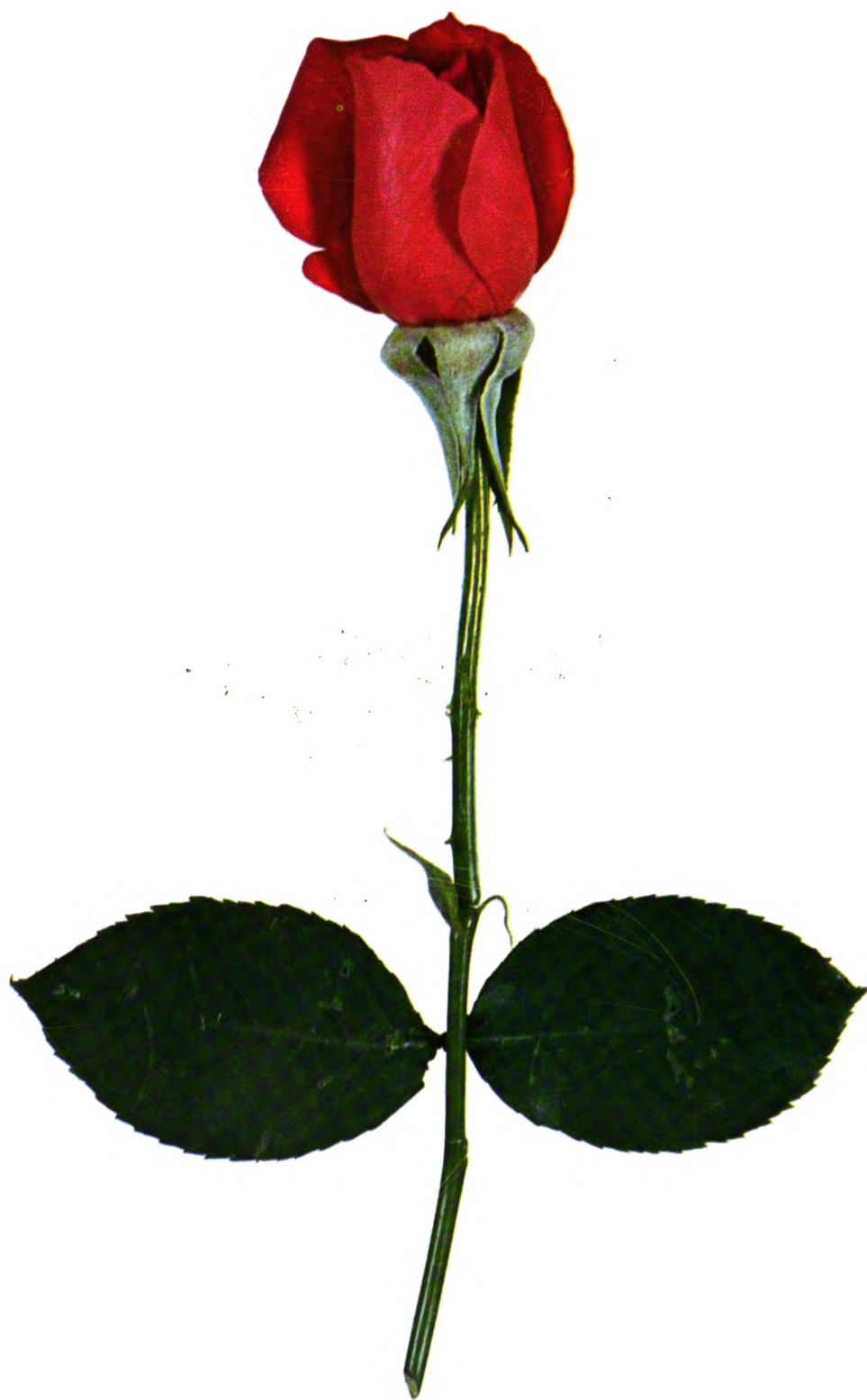


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INTRODUCTION

Gandhi once said, "Men often hesitate to make a beginning because they feel that the objective cannot be achieved in its entirety. This attitude of mind is precisely our greatest obstacle to progress—an obstacle that each man, if he only wills it, can clear away."

Jawaharlal Nehru was a man who willed away obstacles to progress. He pitted himself against some of the most appalling problems of our age and helped to clear them away. For almost three quarters of a century he battled against man's inhumanity to man; against the horrors of war; against ignorance and hunger and disease. And now the rose he traditionally wore at his breast has withered and fallen. He is no longer among us. But he helped to clear the way.

Nehru struggled constantly for a world of peace. Even when his neighbors to the north rattled their bloody sabers and pierced his country's frontiers, he kept his faith in the principles of peace while leading his nation in its self defense. And as soon as the gunfire stilled, he resumed his calm insistence at the conference tables of the world that man must learn to live with man and prevail; or perish from the face of this earth.

And now he is gone. And one task in this world did he really complete. In the hearts of free men everywhere he built a shrine to the principles and beliefs of a country called India. It is to the builder of this shrine, who would have been 75 years young on November 14, that these eulogies from the United States press, as well as expressions of sympathy from America's leaders, are dedicated.

LYNDON B. JOHNSON

Once again we come together in grief over the death of a great and beloved man —this time your own leader, Prime Minister Nehru. Words are inadequate to convey the deep sense of loss which we, in particular, feel at his passing. For so long we had counted on his influence for good, it now seems impossible to believe that he is no longer with us. Yet his spirit lives on. The rich heritage he has left us, his faith in his people and in humanity will, I know, serve to sustain you and us as we strive together to translate his ideals into reality.

History has already recorded his monumental contribution to the moulding of a strong and independent India. And yet, it is not just as a leader of India that he has served humanity. Perhaps more than any other world leader, he has given expression to man's yearning for peace. This is the issue of our age. In his fearless pursuit of a world free from war he has served all humanity.

As it was for Gandhi, peace was the ideal of Jawaharlal Nehru; it was his message to the world. There could be no more fitting memorial to him than a world without war. It is my sincere belief that in his memory the statesmen of the world should dedicate themselves to making his ideal a reality. Our country is pledged to this and we renew our pledge today in tribute to your great departed leader.

In a separate message to Mrs. Indira Gandhi, daughter of Mr. Nehru, President Lyndon Johnson referred to their talks in Washington after the inauguration of the New York World Fair and said: "When we met recently, I recall we shared the hope that we would not so soon be faced with this tragedy. I find it difficult to express the sense of personal loss which I feel as the result of the death of your father. His passing has left this country and all mankind, to whom he gave so much in word and deed, the poorer.

I shall always treasure my all too brief association with Prime Minister Nehru. His comfort at the time of the assassination of President Kennedy was a great source of strength to me. That we should lose this man, so soon after our own loss, grieves us more deeply than we can express.

“I thank you for inviting me to say a word as one of those who have come from all parts of the earth to pay our homage to Jawaharlal Nehru and to comfort India at this moment of deepest sorrow. The leaders of the world have set aside their differences to join in the unity of common grief. The ordinary peoples of the world, men, women and children, know that they have lost a champion of peace, of human decency, of the brotherhood of man.

“As one who has worked in the United Nations since its birth, I have known the voice of India as a voice of sanity, of moderation, and of hope. Pandit Nehru had great confidence in the capacity of his fellow man to be decent, the capacity of man at his best to take control over man at his worst. He reminded us that it is never too late to draw back from crisis and attempt to find a peaceful solution.

“The Indian democracy, the world’s largest, represents Pandit Nehru’s major imprint on our era. He spent his life to leave this legacy to the Indian people and the world. We in the United States, with a similar colonial past and now the second largest nation built upon democratic principles, share both India’s grief and her hopes.”

...“devoted his life to bringing the democratic system of government to India and sought to instill a faith in representative government among the people of India” and who “laid the foundations for a richer and more enlightened life for the people of his country.”

NEHRU: INSPIRATION TO INDIAN NATION

They (Gandhi and Nehru) not only led the fight for Indian independence before it was achieved in 1947—thus becoming symbols of it—but by the very nature of these two men their leadership was more than just political.

It was also spiritual, which is unique in the 20th century. They were selfless, with their only interests India and its people. Both had gone to school in England. Both were lawyers.

But one of Nehru's greatest services to India was in seeking to make it a secular state in which the various religions, since none could dominate the government, would live together without trying to crush one another.

Perhaps Nehru's greatest contribution to his country was in being an inspiration to its people, for through that he managed to keep the country and its people glued together as he gave them a sense of direction.

ANCHORAGE TIMES, Alaska, May 28, 1964

The death of Jawaharlal Nehru creates a vacuum not only in the domestic affairs of the vast subcontinent he helped lead to independence in a 31-year-struggle with the British Raj but throughout the whole of Asia. Whatever his faults, and they were many in Western eyes, Mr. Nehru never defaulted his devotion to the cause of human freedom. Never did he contemplate the adoption of Communism as a national policy; on the contrary, he was completely intolerant of Communists in India's internal affairs. He did, however, occasionally outrage the Western world with his steadfast refusal to see international Communism for what it was—a rapacious order bent unswervingly upon world conquest.

Forsaking a life of personal luxury to labor in behalf of hundreds of millions of diverse peoples with whom he had no real personal identity but, like Thomas Jefferson whom he greatly admired, yearned to see stand tall as individual contributors to a perfect society of men, Mr. Nehru possessed a burning idealism that was the sustaining force throughout most of his life.

The monument he leaves to his memory is modern India, still teeming from overpopulation, still greatly illiterate, still archaic in all too many significant respects, still under-industrialized, largely agriculturally inefficient and politically immature. Yet Nehru's India is, at the same time, stepping forward in all of these respects, if hesitantly, and stabilized to the extent that the Indian democracy is viable, standing with Japan and the Philippines as the best hope for free men in the East.

ALBANY HERALD, Georgia, May 29, 1964

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Each century produces a few men who tower above their fellows in spirit and in intellect, and also as men of action, shapers of history. Of these rare figures in our own time two have been Indian. Now the second of them is dead, and the Indian people know once more, as Jawaharlal Nehru said sixteen years ago on

the night Gandhi fell, that a light has gone out of their lives and there is darkness everywhere.

Yet the darkness is not so deep as it would have been if Nehru had failed in his mission of creating a modern democracy on the ancient soil of South Asia. India's future, as we try to peer far ahead, may seem uncertain; but there today the democracy stands, to give the Indian millions, who now are hundreds of millions, the best chance they have had in all the millennia of their story. And it was Nehru, with his vision and his courage, with his ways of persuading and scolding and inspiring, who more than all others together made the chance in the first place, and saved it, and steadily strengthened it.

His breathless high moment came just before midnight on August 14, 1947, when he stood in Parliament House in New Delhi, a slight man in a white cap of homespun cotton, with a red rose in the breast-buttonhole of the jacket, and said to the Constituent Assembly, "Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny ..." There, spoken in quiet tones was the end of Britain's long dominion over India, and the end of empire, and the end of European Colonialism: the closing of one age and the beginning of another.

Through the bright moments and the clouded he remained the same person, the philosopher-leader still simple and wholly unself-conscious, with a child's fresh eye for a bird or a flower or an animal cub, and a happy affection for children, in whose company he may have felt some mitigation of the loneliness that held him apart even from his closest colleagues in Government.

Next to being alone, preferably in the Vale of Kashmir from which his forebears came, Nehru loved crowds. Through them he felt best in touch with India. But their adulation at the same time made him impatient, and he once said that India would need as his successor someone who was not a hero. Perhaps so; but in these past few momentous decades India needed most, and was fortunate enough to have in Jawaharlal Nehru, a leader who by any measure of greatness was a great man.

BALTIMORE SUN, May 28, 1964

The future of Southeast Asia and, to a degree, the future of the world depend on the success with which India fills the vacuum of leadership left by the death of Prime Minister Nehru. It is true that Nehru never fully realized his hope of raising a standard of neutrality and reason around which the Asiatic nations would rally, rejecting the Red Chinese appeal to tyranny, revolution and violence. His prestige and that of India were further weakened by the Chinese invasion of India and in recent months advancing age and worsening illness had made him a shadowy figure. But these frustrations only lessen and do not destroy his impact on history as a man of great and complex character, the personal and political leader of the world's second largest nation through many years of rapid change and great danger.

Nehru was India, and India was Nehru, a blend of the mystic and the practical, of the incredibly old and the brand new, often baffling to the Western mind, sometimes infuriating but always there, a gigantic fact, never to be ignored. Can those among us who criticized him, sometimes bitterly, be certain of the course that we would have followed in his position? No statesman can assume a more difficult task than that of leading an India in the world of today.

It was a heroic task that Nehru undertook. It is a no less heroic task that faces his successors. New leadership, the world is confident, will emerge. This leadership and India will need friends.

Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, whose death today leaves a worrisome question mark hovering over troubled India, was one of the truly great figures of our time.

Agitator, revolutionary, philosopher, statesman, Nehru made his whole life almost synonymous with his homeland's painful, patient, often pathetic awakening into modern nationhood—first as Gandhi's disciple in the long “non-violent” struggle for India's independence; then as Gandhi's successor in the even more difficult and frustrating struggle to make his vastly overpopulated and underdeveloped land a viable democratic nation.

To Americans, caught up in their own great problems of free-world leadership, Nehru's studied neutralism on the world stage often made him seem more an antagonist or a Soviet apologist than a neutral. But no American could doubt his authentic greatness as a leader of India's people—or as a deeply sensitive, thoughtful, articulate spokesman for the whole “revolution of rising expectations” in Asia.

It was this Nehru who came through most vividly in an interview with a group of touring U.S. editors nearly seven years ago. He seemed terribly fatigued even then, weary and frustrated by the immensity of India's unmet needs. At one point, he seemed almost to reflect a sense of futility as prime minister, looking back on the early “agitational” phase of his life as “the more significant.” But when asked where India then stood, after 10 years of independence, he pondered and gave an answer that speaks volumes—for India, and for much of the rest of Asia.

“We achieved our political independence,” he began, “with India at a very low level. You know, it is a very difficult job to get over that initial poverty. We had to face that immense problem and the many things that came out of poverty. Our economy was very static; it has to be changed into a dynamic economy.

“It was after our political revolution that we faced our economic and social revolution. Until you have three revolutions in a backward country, only then does it get properly going on the road to progress.”

In America and Europe, he noted, the great economic changes from feudalism to a modern economy took place long before full democracy came in. But in India, “we got political democracy of the completest kind—an electorate of 200 million voters, politically conscious, demanding all kinds of better things—without the resources to satisfy them.”

“You know,” he went on, with a sad smile, “real democracy makes big demands. If you don’t satisfy them fast enough, politically conscious hundreds of millions of people won’t wait. And whatever the progress we are able to make, it is immediately absorbed by greater consumption—which is good, but leaves nothing for future progress.”

BUFFALO NEWS, N. Y., May 27, 1964

NEHRU

A great, swelling loneliness must have swept over India’s 465,000,000 people yesterday. Nehru was dead; Nehru who was everything to a vast and heavy-burdened subcontinent carrying both its own and world hopes for progress through freedom in Asia.

Today, the funeral will be India’s most emotional moment since Gandhi was cremated, in the same area by the Yumana, 16 years ago. On that day, 4,000,000 persons were assembled in what may have been the largest gathering in human history.

After Ghandi’s assassination, Nehru was everything to Indians as few men can be to the nations they serve. He was a nonreligionist who was worshipped by the Hindu masses. They saw in him the ancient emphasis on the diversity of truth, the Hindu concept of a many-sided deity.

He was many men ; first of all the most extraordinary blend of East and West. Kipling's observation about the twain never meeting is only partially applicable in Jawaharlal Nehru's case.

"I have become a queer mixture of the East and the West," he wrote. "Out of place everywhere, at home nowhere. Perhaps my thoughts and approach to life are more akin to what is called Western than Eastern, but India clings to me, as she does to all her children, in innumerable ways...I am a stranger and alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes I have an exile's feeling.

(and later) "Behind me lie, somewhere in the subconscious, racial memories of a hundred, or whatever the number may be, generations of Brahmans."

The extent to which East and West did merge in Nehru was of primary benefit to his country and to men. President Johnson's tribute is worthy: "Perhaps more than any other world leader he has given expression to man's yearning for peace...he has served all humanity."

In his charm, his "grace of mind and spirit," as Sen. Cooper calls it; in his ability to fire the young intellectuals with a determination to serve, he was a John F. Kennedy who lived to be 74 years of age. He was Churchillian in his courage and dedication to that grand design of another sort. He had the broad popular appeal of an Eisenhower. He was Stevensonian in his full exploration of the problem at hand, his near-reluctance to reach a conclusion. Many top world figures termed him the most articulate man in conversation they ever heard. He was an able writer, an accomplished historian.

But history will give him a very high place. No other man could have brought India through the first decade and a half of independence, fighting chaos or retrogression all the way, as he did.

To many Nehru was as much a paradox as India itself. Born a patrician, accustomed to wealth, he became a revolutionary. He gave up a life of ease to follow the teachings of Mohandas Gandhi; his dedication to Gandhi's civil disobedience program brought him seven jail sentences. It was during his 13 years of prison life that Nehru conceived his idea of a program of both socialism and nationalism for India, worked out his economic theories and his concept of the "mixed economy" in which the state would assume management of key industries but leave ample scope for private enterprise.

He steered a narrow and difficult course in the waters of world politics. It brought him condemnation from both sides. He was accused by the West of being "soft on communism." Premier Josef Stalin denounced him, at the same time, as a "running dog of imperialism."

Nehru never wavered in his determination to keep India free from entangling alliances. He worked endlessly to improve the lot of his people.

When he visited Chicago this editorial page noted, on Oct. 26, 1949, that Nehru stood for ideals no American could disagree with: the liberation of subject peoples; the maintenance of national and individual freedoms; the elimination of racial discrimination, want, disease and ignorance.

In the villages where most of India's 470,000,000 people live Nehru was India itself. He said, on more than one occasion, that he was not for or against communism, not for or against capitalism. "The only thing I am for is India and nothing else. I am for the Indian people." To follow that course as successfully as he did he became one of the world's canniest and toughest political figures.

Jawaharlal Nehru was one of the most important, most loved, most disliked and most puzzling men of the 20th Century. He had the potential, never fully realized, of being one of the most powerful men in the world.

He has left his mark. His successor will face no easy task in measuring up to the standards set by Gandhi and his disciple Nehru.

CHICAGO SUN-TIMES, May 28, 1964

If there are any men who can properly be called indispensable, Jawaharlal Nehru was one. This isn't to say that his policies were essential to India or always in that country's best interests; only time can make that judgment. If he was indispensable, it was because in the minds of his people he was the personification of modern India, and there is no substitute.

Mr. Nehru was more closely associated than anyone, except his mentor, Mahatma Gandhi, with India's struggle for independence. He was the only prime minister his country knew. The multitudes would come to hear him speak not so much to hear what he said as merely to expose themselves to the legendary influence of the man.

NEHRU'S MONUMENT IS MODERN INDIA

He was its builder. Where Gandhi and a whole generation prepared the way for freedom it was Nehru who gave it substance. He took control of an entire subcontinent with splendid possibilities, drawn from the best of the British inheritance. But it was terribly torn by the struggles for independence and it could have crashed under the weight of its regional and religious divisions and its overwhelming economic problems.

This one man held this huge people together and made them a nation. More, he led them like a father and told them what to do, scolded when they fell apart, pleaded and drove them, imperiously overruled them when they were willful, and still left them free with the sinews of their democracy stronger than any other new country large or small.

This India today is a triumph of the parliamentary process—British become authentically Indian. It is articulate in debate, devoted to the rule of law, struggling to build self-government in its half million villages, passionately mastering its passionate diversities on a scale that is beyond comparison in the developing world. It has become, under Mr. Nehru's hand, the symbol of how to progress as rapidly as economics can be dislodged from their customary slow process and made to serve mankind.

The ancient has become modern. This living India, its momentum and vitality and its very free spirit, are uniquely Mr. Nehru's masterpiece.

CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR, May 28, 1964

NEHRU IS DEAD

Although many disagreed with Prime Minister Nehru of India—and with just reasons—few will dispute that he led his country through difficult times. Future historians will judge his record much on the results after his death. Just how well he had trained his successor remains for the future.

Mr. Nehru was staunch in his determination to remain neutral, to take whatever would come his way and give little in the way of support of this or that ideology. Such policy was vexing to this country and to many people. It was frustrating to his supporters abroad. It remains to be seen whether his was a foundation built on strength and whether his ideas for peace will be resolved.

In his death, it must be recorded that Mr. Nehru fought with vigor, spoke sharply for what he believed in and in foreign capitals won respect for his convictions, his honesty and his integrity.

CORNING LEADER, N. Y., May 27, 1964

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INDIA IN MOURNING

It was a long, hard and noble life for Nehru. Now he rests. India, despite its grief, can afford no such respite.

The problems are many and critical, but they will be the more easily solved because Prime Minister Nehru devoted his life to beginning their solution.

Prime minister since India gained independence in 1947—and a key figure in its long struggle to achieve statehood—Nehru made deep inroads against the illiteracy, disease and poverty that are the nation's greatest enemies. He edged the economy toward industrialization but never lost sight of the fact that first things must come first, and in India the first need is education.

Large are the footsteps that Nehru left across India's past. It will take a humble man to follow in them.

DAYTON NEWS, Ohio, May 27, 1964

NEW FACTOR IN OUR LIVES: A WORLD WITHOUT NEHRU

“All night long the northern streamers
Shot across the trembling sky
Fearful lights, that never beckon
Save when kings and heroes die.”

These lines from the “Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers” apply today in a world suddenly without Jawaharlal Nehru.

Where does India go now? The immediate destiny of 450 million people—almost a sixth of mankind—is at stake and what happens to them, which road they will be led along, could be decisive in the cold war struggle for men’s minds. Is Asia to follow Red China’s guidelines or can it remain on Nehru’s road?

As the question is posed, the West realizes how much of a debt, with all his faults, it owes to this complex and contradictory heir of Gandhi. Many who, for lack of understanding, regarded him with contempt, may now realize how vital Nehru was in our divided world.

Nehru’s India represented values we hold to be paramount. Parliamentary institutions, the dignity of the individual (to Nehru even the Untouchable was a fellow human being), social justice. Run through the list of non-Communist new nations in Asia, from the Middle East, through Pakistan, Burma, Thailand, the old Indochina empire, Indonesia, Formosa and Korea. With the possible exception of Malaysia and the Philippines, none has been able to make democracy work, except India.

He was a patrician in love with the masses who reciprocated adoringly. He was dictatorial without being a dictator.

He once was described as the impetuous Garibaldi of Gandhism. It might be more fitting to remember that when the revolution against colonialism was won and Gandhi was struck down in its immediate wake, Nehru had to fight another revolution. He had to turn India away from the spinning wheel and make it industrialize itself and feed itself, fast.

No man could have succeeded in the 17 years that were all Nehru was given. The goal is not yet in sight. But Nehru tried in the liberal democratic way to give all his people a stake in their own society. He had to work fast and through a cumbersome parliament. It is enough for his place in history that his method was even more important than the results.

DETROIT NEWS, May 28, 1964

A GREAT AND GOOD MAN DIES

Contrary to a popular belief in this country, Nehru was not a wishy-washy person, even though he sometimes did seem indecisive in his attitude toward communism. Politically he deserves to be ranked with the great world leaders of his day. He took over control of a new nation and kept it together almost entirely with the force of his own will and personality. His Congress Party, which put him in power, was not a unified political party in the sense that our own parties are. It was a collection of leaders of widely disparate political viewpoints and philosophies who had but one thing in common—the desire for independence. Theirs was a union of convenience and expediency.

With independence achieved, some of the Congress Party's sects began to break away. It is a testament to Nehru's political skill that in the wake of victory his following did not totally disintegrate. He held the party and government together. And while he was doing that he was gradually breaking down the traditional provincialism in his country. He had to weaken the power and authority of the individual states that India might develop strength as a nation.

GRAND RAPIDS PRESS, Mich., May 28, 1964

Dozens of formerly colonial peoples have followed India to national independence since 1947; but few enough have added to the great ideal of independence and self-government the luster which India, for all its pains and shortcomings, gave it.

To a great extent, independent India was Jawaharlal Nehru. He symbolized and embodied it. After Mahatma Gandhi's assassination, only some five months after independence, it fell Mr. Nehru's lot to establish what a free India would be like and what example it would set for the world. The India he led—and helped create—was on the whole a good neighbor for everyone. And that is the best that can be said of it.

Nehru pursued a firm but often misrepresented foreign policy, refusing to let India be caught in the destructive rip tides of the East-West struggle that engulfed less wary ex-colonials in Asia and Africa. He prohibited, by his own example, the kind of backbiting against Western colonial rule whose negative features were, he was honest enough to recognize, offset by many that were positive. And this was all the more admirable in a man who had spent more than his share of dreary months in British jail cells. The master of a colossal one-party political system, Nehru shunned the police-state tactics that might have been feasible for a leader with his magnetic power and tempting in an economic system geared to extensive planning.

In truth, Jawaharlal Nehru was an extraordinary man and leader, one to whom historians who measure his role in his time will be kind. It is regrettable that his quiet and responsible statesmanship was not more widely emulated. Given a few more Nehrus, the awakening lands would be in a happier state.

Prime Minister Nehru was a great leader, for the world as well as for India. His death is a loss to mankind, but his life was a great gift to men.

So, we believe, history will regard him. It is a difficult time for the nations and their leaders.

It is hard for nations to get along, at any time. It is particularly trying in this era, when some nations are at work ceaselessly to take over other nations, by intrigue or by force. It is a dangerous time for global power plays, because of the consequences of nuclear war.

Nehru's great contribution has been reason and patience. His influence helped to cool national tempers, to work the nations away from each crisis. Sometimes his efforts were misunderstood, his complicated neutralism condemned. But if we are safer in the world today, as we seem to be, much of the credit goes to India's gentle leader.

HANFORD SENTINEL, Calif., May 28, 1964

PRIME MINISTER NEHRU

In the outpouring of tributes to India's Prime Minister Nehru, Adlai Stevenson's reflections were highly apropos. "Pandit Nehru knew better than most," Mr. Stevenson said, "that many of life's great decisions are painted not in black or white but in shades of gray. The hope of the world rests with leaders who have the gift of firmness and of flexibility. Prime Minister Nehru had both. He was one of God's great creations in our time."

Few Indians ever entertained doubts about his contributions to his country. And now that he is gone, and the record of his contributions and labors to save the body and soul of India can be studied dispassionately, the world will accept the full measure of Jawaharlal Nehru's greatness.

HARTFORD TIMES, Conn., May 29, 1964

INDIA'S NEHRU

His achievements in bringing order out of the staggering problems that beset independent India cannot be denied. It is hoped that he was able to build a foundation of government firm enough to support his nation during the coming period of transition and adjustment.

Prime Minister Nehru, a man born to the luxury of India's highest caste who chose to forfeit the ease of this position and plunge himself into the struggle to achieve and maintain independence for India's masses, is deserving of the grieving homage of his people and the respect of the rest of the world.

HATTIESBURG AMERICAN, Miss., May 28, 1964

INDIA'S NEHRU

The world sadly contemplates the vacuum left in India and in international councils by the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. This great leader left no deputy; outside of his own country the men and women who were his political vehicles are mostly unknown. Yet if there ever was a man who made his entrance on the stage of public life when he was most needed, it was Nehru...

It was Nehru who took the great dream of Mahatma Gandhi, the dream that Gandhi himself brought to life, and gave it practical substance. Gandhi freed India. Nehru organized this freedom, kept it alive, showed the world a political and economic achievement unmatched by Russia or anyone else.

Nehru was strong and shrewd. How else could he have won so much help for India from the West and still get away with his occasional infuriating behavior toward the West? It is said that in international affairs he was naive. But we can not think of so sophisticated and so cosmopolitan a man in this way.

HOLYOKE TRANSCRIPT-TELEGRAM, Mass., May 29, 1964

I only met Mr. Nehru once, but the impression of both greatness and goodness was one that will be with me always.

In April of 1962, I was a member of a round-the-world press tour. In New Delhi, our group was scheduled to present a plaque to Mr. Nehru from the People-to-People program, honoring his contributions to world understanding.

We were ushered into a room where we sat down around a long table. Mr. Nehru entered wearing his customary white suit and cap, with a small red rose in his buttonhole.

The plaque was presented to him and he accepted it with thanks and a warm smile. He went on to talk about India. As he spoke, I seemed to see his country, not as a confused jumble but as a varied entity.

One of our group asked him if he always wore a red rose. He smiled and said: "Whenever I can get hold of one. You see my costume of all white is a bit colorless and the red rose adds a bit of color which I like."

He apologized for not being able to talk to us longer. He said that he had been ill and was about to go away for a rest. I remember he said twice: "I am irritated with myself for being ill." He seemed to feel that his body had no right to interfere with the work his mind saw before him to do.

It had been a brief and simple interview. He seemed a quiet and simple sort of man. Yet when Mr. Nehru left the room, it was as though the lights had dimmed. He had that sort of personality, so brilliant, forceful and secure that it felt no need of an outward show of impressiveness.

I only met Mr. Nehru once, but I heard him speak from his inmost heart for hours when I read his books. I know he denied being a religious man, but he was a spiritual man.

What can I say for farewell to this man? I can only borrow the salute of his people and that other great leader, Mahatma Gandhi, the salute that was given the same in death as in life: "Nehru ki-jai! Nehru amar hai!" "Victory to Nehru! Nehru will never die!"

NEHRU GAVE INDIA ITS GREATEST TREASURE

How far is India from Las Vegas?

Too far, perhaps, for the impact of Prime Minister Nehru's death to be felt here.

Yet all men of good will, men who are concerned about the course of the world, about the creation of stable democracies, and the maintenance of peace for our time should feel a profound loss in the death of Nehru.

This humble, soft-spoken man who moved with the same ease among the giants of international diplomacy and the lowest of India's outcasts contributed as much as any man of our times to the attainment of those goals.

Many condemned Nehru for his neutralist position in those days when Secretary of State Dulles said all nations must take sides. Indeed, it seemed at times that Nehru was nudging India away from the middle of the road and closer to Moscow. But in the final analysis, and particularly after Hungary, Nehru evidenced a great affinity for the West—and it is on that path that he left India.

But whatever his failings, they were barely noticeable for his greatness. And his towering achievement was that he brought to India its greatest treasure—true democracy. For that, we must all pay tribute to Jawaharlal Nehru.

LAS VEGAS REVIEW-JOURNAL, Nev., May 28, 1964

NEHRU AND INDIA

They burned him, as they had burned Gandhi, at Rajghat—the funeral pyre of kings—attended by millions for whom this man, with his beautiful face and delicate hands and a flower always at his lapel, had been the highest of high kings, the Lord High Everything. He was a Kashmir aristocrat who had placed himself at the head of the swarming mass of his people to fight for freedom, socialism and a new life for them. This act of commitment had given content to what might otherwise have been an empty and aimless dilettante life.

The American whom he most closely resembled was Thomas Jefferson. Both men were at once aristocrats and revolutionaries, both had a fatal flair for phrase, both spanned the liberation of their country and its first great phase of construction, both were intellectuals without being disciplined thinkers, both were philosophic without being philosophers, both were men of richly varied talents, both were at once at home on their soil but also members of the larger cosmopolitan world, both felt themselves part of a revolutionary wave of the future of which their own national revolution was only a part, both refused to confront the full implications of totalitarian terror in a country they had once admired.

The parallel goes even further. Both men, when they were in power, found themselves caught in the struggle between the two great powers of their time, both leaders fashioned a foreign policy of non-alignment to escape from this trap, both made a mystique of the people and yet were slightly detached from them, both operated on a vast continental scale, both were skilled partisans and used the party for their own political purposes as well as their nation's welfare. Both talked much of principle and morality and mankind, yet both were highly pragmatic men who faced concrete problems flexibly and resourcefully.

"The great light is extinguished. Mahatmaji is gone and darkness surrounds us all." A sobbing Nehru thus faced crowds which gathered following the assassination of Gandhi in 1948. Now India mourns again, and in similar words C. Subramanian, minister for steel, has tearfully told parliament that "life is out—the light is out." Nehru himself is dead.

It is impossible to separate Gandhi and Nehru. Together they made modern India possible. They brought it freedom. They gave it hope and incentive and dedication. They, most of all, were its teachers.

It was said some seven years ago by a western diplomat that if Nehru lived five more years he would bring India to the point of having a 50-50 chance of surviving as a democracy. If he lived 10 more years, India's future would be guaranteed. His life almost split the difference—and what India is to become remains to be seen.

Nehru told us, in 1957, in his office in New Delhi, that only 5% of what he preached to his people was reported in the press—the other 95% was a repetitive lesson about freedom, tolerance, the need to work, work, work. He emphasized what outsiders tend to forget—that India's millions range from those who only yesterday were head hunters to modern scientists. He put it this way: "Existing here today are examples of a civilization that spans nine centuries."

It took a man of great intelligence and understanding to lead such a diverse people. Nehru had the qualities needed. What he said and the policies he espoused were dictated by the capacity of his country to exist in the modern world and by his instinctive insight into his people, their aspirations, their needs, their limitations. It was often difficult for the outside world to understand Nehru or appreciate that almost always there was careful thought behind what he said and did—and reason tied entirely to the future of his country and its survival.

History will almost certainly recognize Nehru as great. He was a quicksilver man in whom Kipling's west and the east did meet—and he was the best of both. Perceptive Americans will recall him as a great friend of ours and western civilization. Asia will see him, as many of its leaders have, as inspiration for

freedom in that part of the world. India is leading the struggle in Asia to prove that the democratic way is superior to the Communistic dictatorship of China. Nehru recognized the competition clearly.

What the future holds now for India is not clear. Nehru pointed the way and led far along the trail. His people have felt his "darshan"—the presence of greatness. It may sustain them.

MILWAUKEE JOURNAL, Wis., May 27, 1964

THE GREAT ENIGMA OF ASIA

Gandhi led a revolution; Nehru built a state.

And in the building Nehru displayed a devotion to democracy and social progress for India that is almost unique in the troubled world of new nations. He did not foster a cult like Nkruma, nor wipe out dissidence by force like Sukarno. Nor was he supplanted by the military like U Nu and many others. His power over the Indian people was largely moral, and it was nearly absolute.

All of this is testimony to a greatness in Jawaharlal Nehru, to a stature which he alone, of all the revolutionaries of a revolutionary era, really possessed. It

NEW YORK HERALD TRIBUNE, May 28, 1964

There are national leaders whose absence from history would have hardly changed the course of events; there are great men of whom it can truly be said that they "hallow a whole people and lift up all who live in their time."

For India, there is little doubt Jawaharlal Nehru was such a giant without whom the course of that nation's history might have been substantially different and far more difficult.

It is doubtful that this vast country of 450,000,000 people could have successfully negotiated the transition to independence without Nehru's towering, unifying presence.

India today is a vibrant, functioning democratic society. Its economy is pragmatically mixed with a marked welfare orientation. This experimental approach is in notable contrast to the rigid, stifling ideological commitments of many other developing societies. India's success as a political democracy, its progress toward industrialization, its maturity as a nation, are in large measure the product of Nehru's genius and vision.

He held it together in the face of tremendous centrifugal forces—caste and class antagonisms, states' rights pressures, Hindu-Moslem divisions. Somehow Nehru's internal calm transmitted itself to the nation; differences that might otherwise have torn the land apart yielded to his healing presence.

Meanwhile, the world grieves at the loss of a large, inspiring and unforgettable figure; such men do not grace the earth often enough.

NEW YORK POST, May 28, 1964

Jawaharlal Nehru and India bore great love for each other; and it was India's love for this man, this man who could be so demanding, so tender, so impatient, so involved, so aloof, so merry, so brooding, that gave him the greatest of all powers—the power to rule through the heart of a nation.

Lesser leaders have used the love of their people wantonly, to master their people. But Nehru refused to turn power into despotism. Dictatorship was within his grasp and at times India seemed to be thrusting it upon him. He refused. The insistence upon an India free in independence was his gift, born out of love, for his country.

Who was Nehru and what sort of man was he and what did he believe in? There is a particular poignancy in the fact that until the day he died and left his beloved India bereft and weeping, the world asked these questions in puzzlement.

Part of the fault lies in the nature of Nehru and in the nature of India. He was given to the resounding vagueness, the pensive posture, and there were times when history moved too quickly and caught him frozen and awkward. Strangely, though, Nehru was more of a man of action than of philosophy. He dipped into a variety of systems of thought, including Marxism, and was attracted by them, but wanted to get on quickly with India's problems—a malfunctioning water system in Delhi one moment, a malfunctioning national economy the next. He moved quickly through life, reaching out toward India.

A large part of the failure to understand Nehru lies in the world's insistence upon seeing him reflected in foreign mirrors—the mirrors of Algeria, or SEATO, or Hungary or whatever—instead of interpreting him squarely and directly for the two things he was. Jawaharlal Nehru was an Indian and he was a revolutionary.

He was an Indian. He was educated abroad and he traveled widely, but only on the soil of India was he happy and at home and did life have purpose. What he did, he did for India. He was a sensitive man who knew India could not live isolated, protected by mountains and seas. He knew the glories of

India and her moments of tranquillity and he knew her wretchedness and despair and he could not separate himself, ever, from any of them, nor wished to.

A disciple of Gandhi, he was a revolutionary. He was in revolution against foreign rule, and everybody remembers it. But what is so often forgotten was that he was in revolution for things as well as against them—for a reassessment by every man and nation of the kind of world in which men starve and go cold and are aching with disease. Within his own society he was a revolutionary, constantly haranguing his own people about their own superstitions and encrustments. He was a revolutionary in international councils, and a successful one, in that he was the first to prove that a nation without military might could and would be heard by the militarily mighty.

The records, the books and the newspapers of the past few decades are dotted with great events and conferences in which Nehru played a role. But none of these played a larger part in the character and formation of Nehru than a passing incident that took place 44 years ago—a visit by Nehru to an Indian village. He saw there what he had not seen often before—the anguished peasant face of India—and he wrote:

“They showered their affection on us and looked on us with loving and hopeful eyes, as if we were the bearers of good tidings, the guides who were to lead them to the promised land... A new picture of India seemed to rise before me, naked, starving, crushed and utterly miserable. And their faith in us, casual visitors from the distant city, embarrassed me and filled me with a new responsibility that frightened me.”

Jawaharlal Nehru, whom India called her jewel, never laid down that frightening responsibility. He loved India and he died beloved by her.

NEW YORK TIMES, May 28, 1964

Pandit (i.e. teacher) Nehru never achieved the almost divine status of Mahatma (i.e. great soul) Gandhi in the eyes of their fellow men. But he steered India through the first 17 years of its independent existence and he maintained parliamentary government in the vast sub-continent where princes and Brahmins have ruled since time immemorial.

Like most of the leaders of his generation of Indians, Nehru was educated in England. He studied at Harrow (Winston Churchill's alma mater) and at Cambridge, where he learned Anglo-Saxon common law. He went to prison nine times under the British, and he fought colonialism with all his strength. But he insisted on the rule of law in an independent India. If the Indians maintain a parliamentary, as opposed to a dictatorial, government, they will be building an imperishable monument to Nehru.

PHOENIX REPUBLIC, Ariz., May 29, 1964

INDIA'S NEHRU

In the death of India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, a complex and important country has lost a complex and important leader. The effects will be felt for some time in world capitals shaken by the passing of a most remarkable man.

Nehru was not easily classified or explained. Born into a wealthy and aristocratic family, from an early age he devoted his long life to obtaining independence and a better way of life for the masses inhabiting the great sub-continent of India.

In the long struggle to win independence from Britain and to steer a neutralist course between the great nuclear powers with rival ideologies, Nehru had to combine the qualities of mysticism, political adroitness, singlemindedness and personal magnetism which made him one of the pre-eminent leaders of his time.

PITTSBURGH POST-GAZETTE, Pa., May 28, 1964

FREEDOM LOSES A FOREMOST CHAMPION

Jawaharlal Nehru has stepped from strife into history; India has lost a father, the United States a friend, and the cause of human freedom one of its foremost champions of all time.

India's loss is most poignant and fraught with peril. To India's people, Nehru was more than a political figure. He was the spiritual heir of Gandhi; his relationship with the masses had some of the mystical quality that Indians reserve for the "Great Souls." He was a symbol of the long struggle for freedom, a struggle in which he gave up the prestige and comforts of an aristocratic home for the humiliation and hardships of British prisons where he spent more than 10 years of his life. He was, above all, a synthesis of India's past and her future, a member of an ancient family of Kashmiri Brahmins who was educated in the best British schools. In charting India's momentous step into the 20th century, Nehru evoked the best of India's rich heritage, and he enlarged her hopes for a better future.

Under his tireless leadership—sometimes pleading, sometimes prodding, sometimes scolding—the Indian nation moved ahead in democratic freedom. Between 1951 and 1961, food grain production rose from 52 million tons to 75 million tons; steel capacity doubled to 3.5 million tons, average income increased from \$55 to \$65. Three peaceful nationwide elections were held. A degree of national unity was forged. To anyone who knew India in the grim,

post-partition days of 1947, India's achievements under Nehru have been monumental.

India has lost her hero with a heroic task not yet half-done. The coming months of searching for a new, sure leadership to take his place will be anxious months for India and for all her friends.

America is one of those friends. Although we were sometimes annoyed, sometimes agonized by Mr. Nehru's inclinations toward neutralism and socialism, Americans as a nation recognized his fundamental commitment to freedom and respected his honest, if sometimes misguided efforts, to do what was best for his people. Nearly five billion dollars in American aid is a tangible token of that regard.

Many here revered Mr. Nehru for the nobility of his spirit. In his patriotism, we saw reflected the qualities of a Washington; in his idealism, Jefferson; in his compassion, Lincoln; and in his commitment to social and economic progress, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

Above all, history will remember Mr. Nehru's contribution to human freedom. Under his leadership, 350 million people—one-seventh of the human race—cast off centuries of foreign rule. Under his leadership, these same people, now grown to 450 million—largely illiterate, impoverished, impassive—have chosen the long, hard democratic road to self-sufficiency, fully honoring the rights of the individual.

When India gained her freedom in 1947, Jawaharlal Nehru declared:

“Long years ago we made a tryst with destiny and now the time comes when we shall redeem our pledge, not wholly or in full measure, but very substantially. ... It is fitting that at this solemn moment we take the pledge of dedication to the service of India and her people and to the still larger cause of humanity.”

Mr. Nehru kept his pledge.

India has lost a leader and a statesman, but the world has lost a conscience and a moral force with the death of Jawaharlal Nehru. The loss will be felt more keenly because the focus of world crisis today is in Asia.

Nehru's place in history will be that of the man who translated the aspirations of the saintly Mohandas Gandhi into the modern, independent state of India, second most populous nation on earth. He fought alongside Gandhi for Indian independence, and suffered for his cause in British jails. But when independence finally came after World War II, it was Nehru who had to face the practical problems of governing India, and the more difficult problems of raising the economic status of a nation so poor that starvation was considered the normal brake on population increase.

Nehru's India came alive at a time when the world was split into two great divisions that competed for the newly emerging nations of Asia and Africa. His course for India was midway between these competing forces; a form of non-commitment that often irritated his friends in the West. But Nehru saw that as the best course for India, just as George Washington believed that isolation from the quarrels and rivalries of 18th and 19th century Europe was best for the infant United States.

To the world, Nehru held forth high ideals of peace, integrity and morality. He was not always understood, and often resented for those very ideals. To those who saw the world only in terms of the East-West struggle, he appeared impractical. In the world of the atom bomb, the man who preached peace and brotherly love was a dreamer.

But the world has taken a few turns, and the ideals of Jawaharlal Nehru seem closer today, as practical men have decided that the least practical of solutions of the world's problems is mutual self-destruction.

We can join the people of India in mourning their great leader because so much of what he did and said was for all of us, as citizens of the world.

RACINE JOURNAL-TIMES, Wis., May 28, 1964

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU, FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

No one in history has ever enjoyed the uncoerced political trust, allegiance and leadership of more human beings than Jawaharlal Nehru.

Who in the West can fully claim to understand the nuances of thought which guided the policy and underlay the authority of this philosopher-statesman of the East? Certainly Mr. Nehru has eluded the comprehension of many plain-thinking Americans, conspicuous among them John Foster Dulles, who abominated and denounced his politics of non-alignment. Yet patiently, for 17 years, against the most ghastly odds of desperate want and economic hardship, mass ignorance and national disunity, internal pressure and external counterpressure, he managed with superb skill to maintain the integrity of government by consent.

He will be remembered wherever the story is told of peoples struggling for, winning and making good use of their freedom.

SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE, May 28, 1964

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MAN AND SYMBOL: A FRAGMENTARY APPRECIATION

He was not one man but a procession of men. In him you witnessed a national hero, statesman, philosopher, historian, author, educator.

He was an intellectual product of Western civilization who was accepted as symbolic leader by many hundreds of millions of Asians and Africans who feared the West.

He was an accomplished logician who lived on intimate terms with the imponderables and intangibles.

He was an avowed optimist who found it difficult to keep from brooding.

He had sensitivities so finely attuned that he could be jarred by the slightest vibrations, but he was able to make history-jolting decisions.

With such a man, you cannot essay a full evaluation or appreciation. The best you can do is to pursue certain qualities and attributes.

NORMAN COUSINS, SATURDAY REVIEW, June 20, 1964

The news bulletins had their usual impersonal tone: Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru of India was dead of a stroke at 74.

What the news stories were telling us—whether or not Americans like it—is that one of the great figures of India's fascinating history had left the scene.

If we cannot understand all of what Pandit Nehru was, we can understand this much: He took—almost singlehandedly—the impoverished, teeming millions of India and, in the face of the dark specter of bloodshed and chaos, forged a new nation. Let India be his monument.

SOUTH BEND TRIBUNE, Ind., May 28, 1964

THE LIGHT IS OUT

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...Nehru led with a vision, with hope and with love. His family's huge fortune was liquidated to free his people, while Nehru spent years in jail to win them freedom. And once freed, he taught them democratic government, tried always to calm the blood-letting fury of their interreligious strife, sought to raise their standards of living—literally gave his life to better the lives of the millions who loved and followed him as they will follow no other.

If Nehru differed with us, it was because he believed in the philosophy of neutralism he preached, became its world leader. And if he hasn't led the neutral nations our way, we can rejoice that he also kept many of them from going the Communist way.

That's how history certainly will judge Jawaharlal Nehru, and it's how we should judge him. And if we can understand that, we can also understand and mourn with one of Nehru's ministers who, when notifying a weeping Indian parliament of the premier's death yesterday, said:

"The prime minister is no more. Life is out. The light is out."

SPRINGFIELD LEADER & PRESS, Mo., May 28, 1964

India and the world have lost a leader in the death of Jawaharlal Nehru who will stand as one of the greatest leaders of the Indian subcontinent. Whether one subscribes to his policy of peaceful resistance or other of his tenets, he stands in the records as a great leader and a great figure.

If one would judge his accomplishments militarily, he would fall short of the mark, but his non-military battles were perhaps of greater moment than would have been any resort to arms. Taking up where Mahatma Gandhi left off in the break with colonialism, well schooled and trained, he won his battles with the existing regime through the power of mind that found him frequently in a jail cell for his vehement passive resistance.

He came out stronger than ever with his people and the creator of the nation of India from which the British, in turning over the government to the people of India, separated Pakistan, which had been under its domain as part of the colonial power. Not only did Nehru create the independent state, but he became its administrator, leading it to a common devotion to political freedom, a respect for various opinions, dedicated to raising up the teeming masses of India, to curing their illiteracy and their disadvantaged condition generally. That meant welding together diverse cultures and separate ethnic groups that had been left as various conquerors had come and gone over the centuries.

He tried to travel a path of peace as a means to national development without the destructions and adverse effects of war, striving for greater economic growth and development.

Through it all he was an indomitable figure, with a contagious devotion to his native land and its people. India could never forget him, nor the world, for that matter, as a force for peace and understanding and of the free way of life, with a paramount goal of national unity.

In the autumn of 1951 I spent several weeks in India.

On the last day in India an invitation came to lunch at the prime minister's home. Afterwards there was time for an interview with Mr. Nehru. Old notebooks, kept from that time, contain this entry :

"On the occasions I heard him speak I had noted the sensitive, handsome, almost ascetic face. Up close in conversation he looks the same. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is a quiet, almost shy man. (But he has a temper.) His face has the quality of lighting up when he smiles. It is a good face, a nice smile. He talks in a low, well-modulated voice. His English is flawless. (He had a prestige education in England.) He is tall, slim, and makes a really impressive appearance, quite unlike that of the more political up-from-the-ranks type prime ministers. He looks and acts like what basically he is—philosopher, poet, intellectual, and a leader who seeks to lead from the intellectual side—not the emotional or demagogic.

"He says that India's economy cannot take the fixed pattern that has evolved in the more industrially advanced countries. He believes in a mixed economy (socialist and private enterprise) for the new republic of India, which is confronted with so many caste and other almost insurmountable problems. The Communists and Socialists are demanding total reform now. Mr. Nehru knows—as they do—that this is impossible."

India has a long border with Red China. Side by side was a Communist program—and a democratic one. Mr. Nehru, and India, were shocked when the slowly developing feud between China and Russia produced a Chinese attack on his borders. This strengthened the Indian determination to remain independent of any alliance—but to hold fast to their own representative government.

Their problems still are insurmountable. India has made really significant advances in industry and increased food production.

We shall do well to assist the government that has replaced Mr. Nehru.

RALPH MCGILL, *TOLEDO BLADE*, Ohio, June 4, 1964

India has lost a great leader whose name will be inscribed in history alongside those of the mightiest figures in the history of the subcontinent. Many will dispute his philosophy, his policies, his politics and his day-to-day decisions, but few will dispute his rightful claim to a place alongside such giants as Akbar among the rulers who struggled to bring order and unity and a common culture to the assorted peoples living south of the Himalayas.

What was constant in his character was his total identification with India. What was uniform in his purpose was the creation of a nation with a common devotion to political freedom, a universal respect for differing faiths, a dedication to the uplifting of the illiterate and disadvantaged masses. It was his unremitting purpose to unite the diverse cultures and groups that countless invasions and conquests had left tenants in the vast subcontinent. It can be said of him as he said of Akbar, that he "deliberately placed the ideal of a common Indian nationhood above the claims of a separatist religion." And history alone will disclose whether we must say of him as he said of the great sixteenth century Moghul ruler: "He did not wholly succeed in his attempt. But it is amazing how far he did go and what great success attended his efforts."

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The foreign policy which Nehru espoused had as its central purpose the protection of India. Its primary object was to shape the political environment in the world, and in Asia, so that India, in peace, might pursue those great objects of internal development and economic growth essential to its national survival. Like the founders of the American republic, he longed for a few generations of isolation from the quarrels of the great powers.

It will be the lot of his successors to carry India's great objectives forward. If they succeed, and the free world must more than ever hope that they will succeed, Indians a thousand years from now still will remember the beginnings of nationhood made under the inspired leadership of Jawaharlal Nehru. And even if they fail, he will be remembered. In either case, it will be impossible to make a distinction between him and his generation, so thorough was his identification with his country. And any final estimate of him will profit by his own estimate

of his great Moghul predecessor :

“No man can succeed in great tasks unless the time is ripe and the atmosphere is favorable. A great man often forces the pace and creates his own atmosphere. But the great man himself is a product of the times and of the prevailing atmosphere. So Akbar also was the product of the times in India.” And so was Nehru.

The woods are lovely, dark and
deep,
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep,
And miles to go before I sleep.
Richard Frank

*The woods are lovely, dark and deep.
But I have promises to keep,
And miles to go before I sleep
And miles to go before I sleep*
Robert Frost

In Jawaharlal Nehru's own handwriting and kept by his bedside.

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JANKI GANJU, Editor

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN



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